How U.S. Bombing Doubled After "De-Escalation," See Boxes Pps. 2-3

When "Reciprocity" Really Means Surrender

"We say to the North Vietnamese: 'We will stop bombing if you will stop infiltrating.' What does that add up to? It adds up to: 'You leave to our tender mercy the Viet Cong and we will stop our bombing.' Of course they are not going to do it. Why should they? Why should they withdraw forces unless we do? We talk about infiltration by them. We have more than 500,000 men in Vietnam."

—Morse in the Senate June 21. A week later the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam in a letter to Chairman Fulbright of Senate Foreign Relations attacked this U.S. demand for "reciprocity" as a threat to peace and urged public hearings on the issue.

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Billions for Missiles and Pennies for Poverty

The day the poor were driven out of Resurrection City was the day the Senate voted to approve an anti-missile system. Monday June 24 deserves to go down in history for its symbolic significance. Congress turned a flinty banker's face to the poor but took the first step toward the deployment of an ABM (anti-ballistic missile) network which could cost more than their most utopian demands. The first installment for Sentinel, the "thin" one, is $5 billion. The total cost of the big one the military-industrial complex wants can easily run to $50 billion. Even that is only the beginning. For the ABM will set off a new spiral in the arms race, as each side builds more missiles to overwhelm the other's anti-missiles, and then more anti-missiles to counter the new missiles. "And at the end of it all," as Nelson of Wisconsin told the Senate that day, the U.S. and the Soviet Union "will be right back where we started, except out of pocket $50 to $100 billion."

No Police Barred Them

While the chief lobbyist of the poor, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy went to jail, the lobbyists of the military-industrial complex celebrated their biggest victory. The ABM will prove to be our most wasteful handout. But the lobbyists who sold this bill of goods did not have to live in shanties or confront police lines on their way to the Capitol. The clients of the welfare state ought to get acquainted with the clients of the warfare state. The decision to go ahead with the ABM, *Congressional Quarterly* said in a special study May 24 of the Military-Industrial Complex, will benefit more than 15,000 companies including such major defense contractors as General Electric, General Dynamics and Thiokol-Chemical. One brokerage firm told its customers last summer that the day Congress approved the ABM was "the day they will shake the money tree for electronic companies." In the last quarter of 1967, after Johnson overruled McNamara and approved the Sentinel, 75 mutual investment funds "sold $90 million in other stock holdings [the CQ report says] and invested the proceeds in electronics."

The ABM is the latest break-through in the arms race and it is time to recognize the arms race for what it is—the socialism of the rich. It is the welfare system which supports some of our richest corporations. The physicist Ralph Lapp, who did so much to arouse the country to the fallout danger in the campaign against nuclear testing, has provided the best overall view of what the ABM and the arms race really mean in

(*Continued on Page Two*)

The Changes At The Court

"It still seems a happy accident," we wrote in the Weekly 15 years ago, "that produced a Warren in the party of Nixon and Knowland, and determined the award of our highest judicial office to a Republican as respected, humane and liberal as Earl Warren." We were the only publication on the Left to welcome the appointment. The Vinson court, packed by Truman cronies, tried to read the cold war into the Constitution. The Warren court helped to dissipate the miasma of McCarthyism and in the Brown decision sought to put the Negro a giant step forward to full equality. If the hopes it aroused have been disappointed, the fault is not Warren's. We were stung to tears when we heard the new Chief Justice declare segregation of Negro children in the schools "generates a feeling of inferiority . . . that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." The direct and simple humanity of that utterance was Warren at his best. The Court over which he presided has ever sought to widen democracy and to humanize law.

We believe his successor has already shown he will carry on in the same tradition, and it is a happy day that brings the defender of Owen Lattimore in the darkest days of the witch hunt to the Chief Justiceship. We also welcome the appointment of Judge Homer Thornberry. The South is underrepresented on the Court. Thornberry on the Fifth Circuit has already shown a consistency and strength on civil liberties and Negro rights few would have suspected from a rather tepid record in Congress. Last December he struck down as unconstitutional an ordinance under which anti-war demonstrators against President Johnson at Killeen, Texas, had been convicted; he could have dodged the issue. He dissented sharply when the Circuit declined to hear Stokely Carmichael's appeal from an incitement to riot conviction in Selma, and indicated plainly that he felt the majority was being unfairly swayed by Mr. Carmichael's notoriety.

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(*Continued from Page One*)

his new book, "The Weapons Culture." The spokesmen for the poor should use it as ammunition. Dr. Lapp observed that the so-called free enterprise system "has been distorted into a kind of 'defense socialism', in which the welfare of the country is permanently tied to the continued growth of military technology and the continued stockpiling of military hardware." Dr. Lapp estimates that since World War II the U.S. has spent about one trillion dollars—1,000 billions or 1,000,000 millions—on armament! The program has fallen like manna on the country club set and—with the related space program—created a whole new generation of millionaires. We could have cleaned up every slum and solved every racial and social problem with a fraction of the money, thought and energy which went into military hardware, most of it already junked as obsolete.

As Soon As Solidarity Day Was Over

Solidarity Day brought a vast throng to Washington and half a dozen Establishment phonies hastened to address it from the Lincoln Memorial. But no occasional upsurge of benevolent feeling, much less spurious oratorical generalities about poverty, are going to change the allocation of resources between those who grow rich on weaponry and those who decay on welfare. The swift liquidation of Resurrection City once the visitors had departed was the reflection of a more permanent solidarity among those who fatten on the waste of national income. Those poor shanties the police destroyed were the first signs, we hope, of a widening and continued struggle against the inhumanity and the irrationality of our spending policy. During the House debate June 26 which ended with sharp cuts in the welfare budget, a typical Iowa Republican opponent of the poverty program said the country did not have "money to throw away . . . on this type of luxury" while a tightwad on the Democratic side (Flood of Pennsylvania) cried, "What do you want? Diamonds? What are you going to use for money? Cigar store coupons?" But when it comes to the war machine and the space program the billions flow freely.

Mrs. Green of Oregon protested that this same Congress had voted $4 billion for the space program. "That means," she said, "we are willing to spend more dollars for outer space than we are willing to spend in total amount of tax dollars for the education of 50 million boys and girls in our elementary and secondary schools." But education, unlike the race for the moon, does not rain dollars on Houston, Texas. "It makes me heart-sick," Mrs. Green cried, 'to see my nation spending in one day in Vietnam more than the total amount of increase I am requesting that affects 2 million teachers and the quality of education for 50 million boys and girls." It is not only the blacks nor only the poor who suffer from the huge allocations to the war and space machines. It is the quality of American life. Urban blight and pollution could be ended permanently for what that war in Vietnam has cost us. Abernathy's little army has been fighting a battle for all of us.

Resurrection City is supposed to have been a mess. I found

Unsolicited Testimonials to McCarthy

"The nomination of Senator McCarthy would cause the Republicans the most trouble, he [Reagan] said, because McCarthy is also a critic of the Johnson Administration and would offer a less inviting target than a candidate who defends it."

—Tom Wicker interview with Governor Reagan, New York Times, *June 24.*

"It [the Humphrey organization] is winning the delegates but it is worried about the voters. . . . Their delegate count . . . still leaves them unhappy, and they are honest enough to admit it. . . . They don't like their own record on the war—Mr. Johnson's and therefore Mr. Humphrey's. . . . Many of them have trouble dealing with their own children. They face the charge that they represent the political bosses while McCarthy represents the anti-war sentiment of the majority of the people."

—James Reston from Washington same day.

Hanoi Charges Sharp Stepup In U.S. Bombing Since LBJ's Geographic Limitations

"Since 31 March 1968 the number of raids against North Vietnam has increased enormously. Previously the number of raids against all North Vietnam was 2,500 per month at the most (in January and March 1968). The number of raids against the former 4th zone [below the 20th parallel] after 31 March 1968 rose to more than 3,500 in April and to more than 4,700 in May.

"Whereas during the first quarter of 1968 the daily average was 75 raids for all North Vietnam, it rose to 115 in April and to 152 in May for the region extending from the 20th parallel to the Vinh Linh area. . . . The number of targets attacked also increased. While in March 1968 the U.S. aggressors bombed 2,000 targets in all North Vietnam, they attacked 2,300 of them in April in the former 4th zone and 3,700 in May in the same zone. The attacks were effected with a brutality and a cruelty much more severe than previously. . . .

"B-52 strategic superbombers and ultrarapid-fire cannon were used increasingly. In May 1968, B-52 planes, for 7 days in a row, conducted 32 carpet-bombing strikes against the Vinh Linh area. The same zone received 40,000 shells launched by the artillery installed south of the demilitarized zone and by big cannons of the 7th fleet.

"Various types of anti-personnel bombs were used more frequently and in greater quantities. In May 1968 alone, 8,000 delayed-action bombs were dropped on 200 civilian targets . . . and nearly 1,000 containers enclosing more than 600,000 spherical steel pellet bombs were dumped on the same zone to massacre the civilian population. Napalm bombs were indiscriminately dropped. . . . The Americans used in large quantities phosphorus bombs and shells. . . . .

"The main targets chosen by the U.S. imperialists were densely populated areas and civilian objectives. . . . Fifteen markets of Nghe An, Ha Tinh and Quang Binh province sustained in May 1968, 16 attacks with 400 explosive bombs and a great mass of steel pellet bombs. . . . The quibbles advanced by the Americans on peace de-escalation, abstention from attacks on the civilian population and against food-producing areas and so forth are deceitful arguments. In reality the Americans continue to step up their aggressive war. . . ."

—Hanoi radio international service in French 0747GMT June 11 reporting a declaration issued by the North Vietnamese war crimes commission the day before.

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it inspiring. It reminded me of the Jewish displaced persons' camps I visited in Germany after the war. There was the same squalor and the same bad smells, but also the same hope and the same will to rebuild from the ashes of adversity. To organize the hopeless, to give them fresh spirit, to set them marching was truly resurrection. If much went wrong, that was to be expected; what was miraculous was that so much could be accomplished with the supposed dregs of our society. Disorganization is hardly a novelty in Washington; you can find it everywhere from Capitol Hill to the Pentagon. The striking thing about Resurrection City is that there was so much genuine non-racialism. The organizers have been given very little credit for bridging a gap everyone deplores. The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy is not the first man of God to be ridiculed and jailed. The wry humor of the poor he led was summed up for me by that touching sign on one of the mule wagons. "Don't Laugh Folks," it said, "Jesus Was A Poor Man." It would be tragic if their voices were so easily smothered.

Mules More Precious Than Men

The skewed vision which afflicts the respectable in our society was beautifully summed up in the outburst of concern for the 23 skinny mules that finally made it to Washington. The first edition of the *Washington Daily News* June 28 carried across its front page a picture of a mule in clover with a caption saying that the mules had been moved to pasture land in Columbia, Maryland, "where the meadows go for $8000 an acre and their next-door neighbors are $15,000 show horses and $20,000 stallions. 'They're going to be treated better than any mules in the history of muledom,' one bountiful lady says." What of the poor hungry human mules who balked at their heavy burdens?

When the Vietnamese war causes inflation, the poor bear the burden in the shape of higher living costs; they eat less. When higher taxes are imposed and the budget cut to save the dollar from inflation, the poor pay again in the shape of fewer jobs (see box at the top of this page) and reduced welfare. And now that there is hope the Vietnam war may be ending and more funds available to help them, the Under Secretary of the Treasury tells a Town Hall audience in Los Angeles June 25 that he doubts the end of the war will bring any sizeable reduction in the military budget. Mr. Barr estimated that "a cessation of hostilities would result in great pressures to rebuild stock in military supplies and equipment to a more acceptable level." He informs us that "We have been fighting this war on a very, very lean [only $80 billion!] budget." How dare the poor be so obstreperous when the Pentagon is so hungry? *July 31*

We'll comment in our next issue on the Gromyko-Johnson exchange for a summit conference on the ABM and the arms race.

The Price The Poor Pay In The Tax Bill

"The very heart of the Kerner Commission report is that we must provide more jobs for the Nation's poor. The report specifically recommends the creation of 1 million public sector jobs and 1 million private sector jobs forthwith. Mr. President, how can we begin to create an additional 2 million jobs when we are taking action today that will destroy a million jobs? I have in my possession a letter from Gardner Ackley, former head of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Johnson, and a leading proponent of the tax increase. Mr. Ackley assures me in this letter that the tax increase will eliminate hundreds of thousands of jobs.

"Mr. President, if we add to the tax increase that mandate for expenditure reduction, this whole package bill in my view, will increase unemployment by 1 million. Mr. President, let us ask, who are going to be those who are among the million to be laid off? . . .

"Garth Mangum, eminent economist, told our committee and told it truly that the poor have been the price stabilizers of our economy, that we have achieved price stability by keeping a proportion of our population out of work and the incidence of unemployment has fallen very, very heavily among the unskilled white and especially Negro American citizens."

—Proxmire (D. Wisc.) *in the Senate during debate on the tax bill, June 21.*

How Little Noticed Official Testimony In Washington Confirms Hanoi's Charges

Secretary of Defense CLIFFORD: The restriction of the bombing to the 20th [parallel], in my opinion, has not done us very much damage. We are concentrating our force in a smaller area down where the panhandle of North Vietnam begins, and the whole flow of traffic that comes from this wide area up here [apparently he had a map before the committee] comes down into the handle of the pan. We are concentrating our bombing through there. We are increasing the number of missions over that area very substantially. As I remember the figures, they were something like 3,000 [sorties] in February, about 5,000 in March, 7,000 in April, AND NOW THEY ARE RUNNING AT AROUND 10,000 SORTIES A MONTH. [Emphasis added.] We are destroying more trucks than ever before.

—Testimony at p. 727 of the House Appropriations Hearings on the 1969 second supplemental. The Secretary testified in executive session on May 28 but the hearings were not released until June 6. This shows that in May the number of bombing sorties were twice as great as in March before the President announced that bombing would be limited. This startling figure has gone almost unnoticed. Later in the same hearing (at p. 762) some idea was given of the increase in bomb tonnages dropped. Joseph P. Addabbo (D. N.Y.) *asked whether in the new budget requests allowance was made for what he supposed was ordnance saved by the restrictions on bombing the North:*

Paul H. NITZE, Deputy Secretary of Defense: Even though we are not bombing north of the 20th parallel .....[deletion by censor], at the present time, the number of sorties being flown in North Vietnam has not decreased, because we have increased the rate of bombing—correct me if I am wrong General Clay. It is my impression that the aggregate number of sorties—

Major General Lucius D. CLAY, Jr., U.S. Air Force: The total number of sorties is holding fairly constant.

Mr. ADDABBO: What about the bomb load?

Major Gen. D. L. CROW, director, budget, U.S. Air Force: I can give you the pertinent data. Total expenditures in the month of March for Air Force munitions were 91,700 tons. In February it was 78,100, and in January it was 67,600. So, you can see, on a comparable basis, even though we have stopped bombing north of the 20th parallel, as a consequence of the additional B-52 sorties the overall expenditure of munitions have considerably increased.

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Why the Full Truth May Never Be Known About the Siege of Khe Sanh

Some control of military information may be excusable in time of war, but it is the duty of the press to prevent abuse of censorship to cover up military blunders. We urge the Newspaper Guild to investigate the lifting of John S. Carroll's accreditation as correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun* in South Vietnam. Carroll was punished for a dispatch from Khe Sanh (published June 25) which first reported that the Marines were abandoning that base. The abandonment moves, as Mr. Carroll reported, were already visible to the enemy. We suspect what got Mr. Carroll into trouble was that passage in his dispatch which said the decision to abandon Khe Sanh "is certain to revive the earlier debate on whether Khe Sanh was 'worth it.' "

Our Not Too Bright Generals

If the Joint Chiefs of Staff can avoid it, the full truth about Khe Sanh will never be known. If it were known, it would show—we believe—that its members just aren't very bright. Apparently the White House shared these doubts because in an unprecedented move two weeks after the siege began, it shifted responsibility to the Joint Chiefs by getting from them *a joint signed statement saying that after conferring with Gen.* Westmoreland—another military genius who has since joined their ranks— they had informed the President Khe Sanh "could and should be defended."

But Khe Sanh was never attacked, except by long range artillery our air attacks were never able to silence. Enemy artillery pinned down upwards of 6000 Marines and a token force of South Vietnamese Rangers for weeks, destroying all installations above ground, forcing our men to live like—and with—rats underground. The death toll was given as 93 but total casualties "were said to have been as many of 2500" (*Washington Post* June 27 from Saigon). The base could be supplied only by air, and no one knows what this cost in terms of plane and helicopter losses.

The Khe Sanh affair seems to have been an enemy feint. It tied down U.S. combat forces in the Northern hills so the cities, Saigon included, could be attacked in the Tet offensive at the end of January. Among the various excuses given for holding on to Khe Sanh was that it blocked "five natural avenues of entry from North Vietnam into South Vietnam" (*New York Times* Feb. 10). This was nonsense. It couldn't even block enemy range-finders from the jungle covered hills all around it. If Khe Sanh "commanded" invasion routes, it would be wrong to give it up—as we are now doing—for "mobile warfare." If "mobile warfare" makes better sense now, why wasn't it better sense in January?

Now, amid the flood of military double-talk about Khe Sanh's "inactivation", they're falling back on the old Westmoreland line that we killed more of the enemy than they did. We think this "attrition" theory is dangerous idiocy, especially in an Asian war where the manpower on the other side is many times our own.

"Signals" McCarthy Could Explore in Paris

The North Vietnamese went to Paris—so we have learned—prepared for a political compromise in South Vietnam. They saw the newly organized South Vietnamese Alliance as a middle-class group which could be the cornerstone of a broadly based provisional government in which both the NLF and pro-peace elements in Saigon could be represented. They were surprised that this evoked little, if any, interest from the U.S. side. Now Wilfred Burchett in an article for the Far Eastern Economic Review in Hong Kong (see Stanley Karnow's dispatch on it in the Washington Post June 27) has declared that Hanoi is prepared to accept a non-Communist regime "which will truly reflect the nationalist sentiments in South Vietnam." At the same time David Dellinger, back from talks with the North Vietnamese in Paris, told the New York Times (June 27) they were ready to discuss security arrangements for all Southeast Asia if the bombing were stopped. The Burchett article and the Dellinger interview indicate the kind of fresh approaches to the deadlocked talks which McCarthy might fruitfully explore in Paris.

Warning Postscript For The Peace Movement

"Administration officials like Clifford optimistically play up progress in Paris peace negotiations; THEY SEEK TO ANESTHETIZE WAR OPPOSITION IN THE PRECONVENTION PERIOD. Others like Rusk stress Red intransigence in Paris; THEY WANT TO BUILD PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE FOR VIGOROUS NEW PROSECUTION OF THE WAR." [Emphasis added.]
—Washington Wire: Wall Street Journal, June 28

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